

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20

TRSE-00 SAJ-01 AEC-11 AECE-00 OMB-01 ACDA-19 OIC-04

SCI-06 EPA-04 CEQ-02 CU-04 DRC-01 AF-10 SAM-01 /177 W

----- 121052

O R 111200Z MAY 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5681

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 136

ZNE/USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

USDOCOSOUTH

USLO SAACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 2940

VIENNA ALSO FOR USDEL MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR

SUBJ: CSCE: PHASE II HIGHLIGHTS-MAY 6-10

SUMMARY: CSCE IMPASSE CONTINUED THROUGHOUT MOST OF THE  
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WEEK, AS THE SOVIETS MAINTAINED THEIR BLOCKAGE OF ALL

PROGRESS IN BASKET III (HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION). AS A RESULT, VIRTUALLY ALL CONFERENCE DELEGATES DREW GRAVELY PESSIMISTIC CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES FOR AN EARLY PHASE III. BUT AT WEEK'S END, THE SOVIETS APPARENTLY TURNED ABOUT-FACE, AND ALTHOUGH THEIR SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS ON BASKET III ISSUES DID NOT APPEAR TO HAVE CHANGED, THEY BEGAN SEARCHING FOR ACCEPTABLE PHRASEOLOGY, AND SHOWED WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT BRACKETS IN ORDER TO GET OVER PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT POINTS AND MOVE AHEAD. END SUMMARY.

1. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--FRG DESIRE TO PUT OFF DISCUSSION OF THE LAST SENTENCE OF PRINCIPLE OF TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY CAUSED SUBCOMMITTEE TO MOVE ON TO PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES. AT WEEK'S END TWO OUT OF FOUR SENTENCES OF THIS PRINCIPLE WERE CLOSE TO REGISTRATION. AS DEBATE IN THE SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION CONTINUED ON VARIATIONS OF SWISS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT PROPOSAL, MOST WESTERN COUNTRIES STRESSED THAT ACCEPTANCE BY ALL PARTICIPANTS OF COMPULSORY ARBITRATION WAS ESSENTIAL TO SUCCESS OF ANY VARIATION. SOVIETS TOOK POSITION THAT SUBCOMMITTEE SHOULD FORMULATE A BROAD MANDATE FOR POST-CONFERENCE STUDY OF PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT BY EXPERTS AND DEEMPHASIZE FURTHER DISCUSSION OF POSSIBLE VARIANTS.

2. MILITARY SECURITY--SUBCOMMITTEE DEVOTED ENTIRE WEEK TO DISCUSSION OF PREAMBLE TO SECTION ON CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES (CBM'S). ALLIES PERSISTED IN EFFORTS TO SPELL OUT IN FAIRLY PRECISE TERMS GENERAL PHILOSOPHY ON CBM'S AND DISARMAMENT. SOVIETS RESISTED THESE EFFORTS UNSUCCESSFULLY BY ARGUING FOR A MORE GENERAL APPROACH. RESULTS SO FAR HAVE PRESERVED MOST OF UK AND NEUTRAL PROPOSALS, ALL OF WHICH ARE ACCEPTABLE TO USG. WHILE NO AGREED PREAMBULAR TEXTS WERE REGISTERED, INFORMAL CONSENSUS WAS REACHED ON ALL PARAGRAPHS, AND REGISTRATION OF ENTIRE DRAFT PREAMBLE IS EXPECTED EARLY NEXT WEEK. ONLY STUMBLING BLOCK IS SOVIET DESIRE TO MAKE SOEM CONFIDENTIAL

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REFERENCE TO MILITARY DETENTE. ONCE THAT ISSUE IS RESOLVED, POSSIBLY ABOUT MAY 15, SECOND READING OF REGISTERED TEXTS CAN BEGIN, STARTING WITH CBM'S. PACE OF WORK WILL THEN DEPEND LARGELY ON SOVIET FLEXIBILITY AND TACTICS.

3. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY, ENVIRONMENT--FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED TO DISCUSS ITS PREAMBLE,

WITH QUESTION OF HOW TO DEAL WITH EUROPEAN LDC'S STILL UNRESOLVED. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES COMPLETED WORK ON INFORMATION SECTION OF RESOLUTION AND APPROACHED AGREEMENT ON REVISED RESOLUTION ON HARMONIZATION OF STANDARDS AND TECHNICAL REGULATIONS. SUBCOMMITTEE ON INDUSTRIAL COOPERATION VIRTUALLY COMPLETED WORK ON PREAMBULAR SECTION OF RESOLUTION ON PROJECTS OF COMMON INTEREST. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE SPENT THREE FRUITLESS SESSIONS SEEKING AGREEMENT ON FORMS AND METHODS OF COOPERATION, WITH EAST THUS FAR REJECTING REFERENCE TO "DIRECT CONTACTS" AND ROMANIA INSISTING ON COOPERATION BEING OPEN TO "ALL INTERESTED COUNTRIES.", WITHOUT QUALIFICATION. ENVIRONMENT SUBCOMMITTEE DID NOT MEET.

4. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--SOVIETS CONTINUED TO FOLLOW HARD AND INFLEXIBLE LINE FOR MOST OF THE WEEK. IN FULL COMMITTEE, A POINTLESS DISCUSSION FAILED AGAIN TO REGISTER ANY PREAMBULAR TEXT. IN ALL SUBCOMMITTEES EXCEPT EDUCATION, BOTH FORMAL AND INFORMAL SESSIONS WERE STALEMATED, WITH SOVIETS UNWILLING EITHER TO COMPROMISE ON SUBSTANCE OR ACCEPT BRACKETED TEXTS IN ORDER TO MOVE AHEAD. WESTERN AND NEUTRAL SOLIDARITY WAS EXCEPTIONALLY STRONG IN THE FACE OF THESE SOVIET TACTICS, AND THESE COUNTRIES WERE UNANIMOUS IN INSISTING ON A MORE REASONABLE SOVIET ATTITUDE. ON FRIDAY, PERHAPS IN RESPONSE TO THE STRENGTH OF WIDELY EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION, SOVIET ATTITUDES CHANGED NOTICEABLY. SOVIET REPS DID NOT ABANDON SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS, BUT BEGAN EXPLORING ALTERNATIVE WORDINGS AND INDICATED THEY WERE NOW PREPARED TO ACCEPT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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USE OF BRACKETS IN ORDER TO BYPASS PARTICULARLY STUBBORN POINTS. THE DIFFICULT SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS REMAIN BUT INDICATIONS ARE THAT SOVIETS MAY NOW AT LEAST BE WILLING TO DISCUSS THEM.

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INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

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----- 121161

O R 111200Z MAY 74

FM USMISSION GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5682

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 137

USINT ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 GENEVA 2940

5. FOLLOW-UP--GENERAL DISCUSSION CONTINUED, WITH  
MANY DELEGATIONS TRYING TO IDENTIFY AREA OF COMPRO-  
MISE BETWEEN CZECH AND YUGOSLAV CONCEPTS OF PERIODIC  
MEETINGS AND DANISH PROPOSAL FOR INTERIM PERIOD  
BEFORE DECIDING ON SUCH ARRANGEMENTS. PORTUGAL  
BECAME SECOND NATO COUNTRY (WITH NORWAY) TO COME OUT  
IN FAVOR OF PERIODIC MEETINGS. PORTUGUESE REP ALSO  
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STATED THAT ONLY ONE EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ORGANI-  
ZATION--THE ECE--IS ACCEPTABLE TO PORTUGAL FOR  
FOLLOW-UP RESPONSIBILITIES, THUS EXCLUDING EUROPEAN  
REGIONAL GROUP OF UNESCO.

6. COMMENT: IT WAS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND WHAT THE SOVIETS WERE UP TO THIS WEEK, AS THEY AND THEIR ALLIES EXHORTED THE CONFERENCE TO MOVE AHEAD QUICKLY TO A THIRD PHASE SUMMIT, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME BLOCKING EVEN MINIMAL PROGRESS IN THE ONE AREA (BASKET III) WHICH WESTERN AND NEUTRAL COUNTRIES REGARD AS THE ESSENTIAL TEST OF A SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE. WESTERN DELEGATES RECOGNIZED THAT SOVIET TACTICS WERE AIMED TOWARD GROUPING ALL BASKET III ISSUES TOGETHER IN A MORE GENERAL NEGOTIATION WHICH WOULD PERMIT THEM TO MAKE FEWER CONCESSIONS. BUT IT WAS ALSO WIDELY BELIEVED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD MADE A VAST MISCALCULATION BOTH OF WESTERN SOLIDARITY IN RESISTING THESE TACTICS, AND OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CONCESSIONS THEY WOULD HAVE TO MAKE TO SATISFY WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DEMANDS AND ENSURE A SUCCESSFUL PHASE III.

7. IN THE CONTEXT OF WIDESPREAD GOVERNMENTAL INSTABILITY IN THE WEST, SOVIET INFLEXIBILITY SEEMED GUARANTEED TO EVOKE A MORE CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE TOWARD CSCE, AND MANY DELEGATIONS HERE FELT THAT THE SOVIETS WERE RUINING THEIR OWN CHANCES FOR PUTTING TOGETHER THE THIRD PHASE SUMMIT THEY SO ARDENTLY DESIRE. THE SOVIET DELEGATION HAS EVIDENTLY PERCEIVED THIS, AND MAY HAVE REALIZED THAT THE FEW REMAINING WEEKS BEFORE THE NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING IN OTTAWA WILL BE DECISIVE FOR THE FUTURE OF CSCE. THIS MAY EXPLAIN THE ABRUPT TURN-AROUND IN SOVIET TACTICS WHICH OCCURRED AT THE END OF THE WEEK. IF THIS NEW FLEXIBILITY SHOULD CONTINUE, THE CLIMATE OF THE CONFERENCE COULD CHANGE, AND THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THIS IS A POSSIBILITY. AS ONE EASTERN DELEGATE TOLD US, "WE REALIZE THAT THE NEXT FOUR OR FIVE DAYS WILL BE CRUCIAL". BUT NO ONE HERE BELIEVES THE SOVIETS WILL CHANGE MUCH ON THE SUBSTANCE OF BASKET

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III ISSUES. THE FRENCH DELEGATION HEAD, HIMSELF A SOVIET EXPERT, SUMMARIZED THE SITUATION THIS WAY: "THE SOVIET ATTITUDE SHOULD BE TAKEN AT FACE VALUE. THEY STILL WANT A SUMMIT IN JULY, AND THEY STILL WANT TO MAKE NO CONCESSIONS IN BASKET III." END COMMENT. DALE

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## Message Attributes

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**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
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